2: Westermarck E-5 (1898-1926) 1926
MX3 Rif MX3

them[1] of being brutal and filthy in their habits, and call them *izakārn* (Iglíwa) or *izākārĕn* (Tazĕrwalt[1]), meaning "ropes"; the Aiṭ Sádděn call them *iḫššóḍĕn*, or "logs", and other Brâber give them a similar epithet. Nor are the Jbâla fond of the 'Arab. In Andjra I was told that they have no religion, neglect the fast of Ramaḍān, and have illicit

FIG. 3.—College student in Fez.

intercourse with their sisters; and at the weddings there the married men, who in every conceivable way molest the bridegroom and his bachelor friends, are characteristically enough called "the 'Arab". I was assured that the Rifians are a much better race.

It should be noticed, however, that the term 'Arab is only an indication of language, not of race. There can be no doubt that the large majority of Arabic-speaking tribes in

[1] Stumme, *op. cit.* p. 190.

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

industrious, and an excellent farmer who has, with the primitive tools at his disposal, managed to raise the maximun possible number of crops on a very rocky and infertile soil.

It seems therefore possible that the city Arab's reaction to the tribesman from Aith Wuryāghil is born partly out of fear; the Wuryāghlī, in turn, has a low opinion of most Moroccan Arabs despite the fact that they gave him his religion. The most lasting impression which he makes on the outside observer is one of sturdy self-reliance and complete individualism coupled with extreme pugnacity. He follows the dictates of his culture to the letter, and, in the last analysis, it is only within the context of the patterns of that culture that he can be accurately judged.

191 if not non-existent[144].....In some of the tribal place names the in-
[101] flux of both Arabic and Berber may be noticeably discerned[145], which in some cases gives rise to a true amalgamation which its (i.e. the name's) Arab or Berber origin does not define with any certainty[146].

• 186 2) Origins:--The Igzinnayen are proud of their Berber origin and consider themselves to be of a superior race. The Rifian from Igzinnayen holds his Arab neighbor from the tribe of Branis in no little contempt[147].....In the tribe of Igzinnayen, one may observe
619
144 two nuclei of population which show great ethnic differences, one
184 situated north of Tizi Usli, between Azru Aqshar[148] and Axt Tuzin, in which there predominates, as much in physical type as in language and customs, the features characteristic of the Berber origin of this tribe; and the other nucleus, located to the southeast of the first,
648 is of Arab origin[149]. The scorn which the Berbers felt for their
[186] Arab neighbors, combined with the fact that the latter recognized and obeyed the government of the Makhzin[150], gave rise to frequent feuds between the people of each region; and in these tribal wars, the "Berber" group was almost always victorious. During their liff strug-
619
648 gles, both the warring bands sought aid from among their next-door neighbors; for while the "berber" band received help from the Axt Tuzin, the "Arab" band was able to count upon the support of the Mtalsa (Rifian Ibdharsen) and Branis[151].

114 Up to the present time, it has not been possible to unravel
619 the ethnic origins of the Igzinnayen, which are highly confused[152]. Moulieras, who was never in Morocco, considers them Berbers for the simple reason that they speak Rifian dhamazighth, an essentially

000 50--The fact of whether or not women inherit (informants invariably say that they do, according to the Shari'a, but they tend, by their actions, to prove the contrary) is a crucial question in Berber [114] social organization. This has been nicely perceived by Blanco, whose opinions on the subject will be treated in their proper place.

[114] [669] 51--This prognostication made by Blanco has yet to come true, as the revolt in late 1958 and early 1959 staged by the Aith Waryaghar against the Moroccan government has abundantly proven. Tribal [186] "we-feeling" and "the sociopolitical importance of the group"--at whatever level of segmentation--seems to us to be as strong as ever.

[829] 52--This is a most interesting notion, and one which is never expressed as such by Rifians but implied in most of their actions, behavior and conversation.

[114] 53--Blanco is in effect trying to define each of the Rifian social units in a state of isolation, as it were, from the others, and trying to take them out of context. In so doing, he advocates, in effect, rigid definitions when what is called for is fluid ones. Small wonder, therefore, that he admits his task to be difficult!

54--In the original, ramas familiares--and, as I have stated earlier, what the jajgu is in fact is a lineage branch of the dharfiqth, and can only be adequately discussed in the light of the latter--or, in anthropological terms, in the light of a total system of segmentary lineage organization.

55--Blanco's argument, when boiled down, is as follows: the jajgu or azwar is a social unit which is essentially the result of polygyny, and if a man has descendants reckoned agnatically from three wives, each of these three sets of descendants form the nucleus of a jajgu which takes a uterine descent from the wife in question as its point of departure.

This, of course, is preposterous. Given a perfectly genuine situation, Blanco has drawn conclusions which are entirely erroneous. He would have us believe, in effect, that matrilineal descent may exist, under certain conditions, in a patrilineal society! Hardly. The fact of the matter is that 1) even though ijujga may originate from the descendants of different wives of the same man; and 2) even though one or more of these wives may come from a clan or tribe other than that of her or their husband--in which case the name of the jajgu may reflect her origin or even her name, although even so it is invariably preceded by that of her son; even in instances of this kind, descent is always reckoned through the male line, and the patrilineal principle obtains throughout. Polygyny is in no way a function of uterine descent, even though there may be evidences of matronymy; and the only mitigating factor in Blanco's hypothesis is that from an overall standpoint, he himself still entertains some doubts about its validity.

56--This is a very good and well-taken point indeed, and goes a considerable way toward explaining why, particularly with respect to issues of wider scope than those within, say, the clan, the statements of different informants (often) tend to vary so greatly. We would go even further: we believe that such ambiguity is absolutely inherent

556 472 183 It is possible, of course, for a single individual to incorporate both a spirit of entrepreneurship and of tradition in his activities. However, such a combination is difficult because the principle of profit is basically antagonistic to the principle of self-effacement and communal solidarity. The entrepreneur stands in a different relationship to the community than most of its other members. His pursuit of profit is an individualistic goal and there is a proverb among the Kabylia Berbers which with equal justice can be applied to the Rif, ". . . only the devil [Chit'an] says 'I' . . ." (Bourdieu 1965: 210). In such a society, individual initiative in the realm of capital gain or income-producing investment may be financially remunerative but of negative value in terms of social interrelations. 556 472 183 571 369 186 Those men who are motivated by profit often find the atmosphere of the rural community uncongenial and they migrate to Alhucemas or Targuist. While Riffians who live in the rural areas may be covetous of some of the advantages which accrue to the urban dweller such as electricity and running water, they are contemptuous of the faster pace, the crowded conditions, the separation from the soil, and the dishonesty, with which they associate the city businessman.

556 472 571 577 There is, I think, a quite clear cleavage between the ideology which guides the Riffian in his economic action and that which guides the entrepreneur. The difference is manifested in all sorts of practical arrangements such as credit, contract, investment, and so forth. It is due to the fact that

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

105 Many of the basic distinctions in the cultural geography of northern Morocco can be attributed to two main factors: the sense of collective identity that is felt by members of tribal confederations and some individual tribes, and the extent to which such groups have been exposed to alien influence. For example, Berber speech in the Rif has survived because it is an expression of fraternal unity, and because the traditions of political independence and economic self-sufficiency have enforced the isolation of the area from the main centers of Arab influence. [186] Moreover, the preservation of Berber speech and many other aspects of Berber culture have been encouraged by the contempt of the Rifians for their Arab or [176] [178] Arabized neighbors. In the Rif, as elsewhere, an innovation may be accepted or rejected, not on the basis of its form and content or its compatibility with established custom but because of its affiliation with desirable or undesirable groups.

Consciously or unconsciously, tribal groups have selected material traits, such as distinctive clothing, settlement patterns, and types of houses, to serve as symbols of their identity. It is not by accident that the western limits of dispersed settlement and flat-roofed houses nearly coincide with the western limits of Rifian speech. Nor is it surprising that symbols of tribal identity are more conspicuous in the highlands than on the Atlantic littoral. This contrast is explained, or at least clarified, when the distribution of culture traits is compared with the physical division between refuge areas and passageways.

Other notable examples of refuge areas are found on the Ghmaran coast, especially the territory of the Bani Bu Zra, and in the less accessible parts of Sanhaja as-Srair. The most exposed areas of northern Morocco are the Fahs territory, south of Tangier, and the basin of Wad Lukkus. These territories are cultural melting pots in which heterogenous elements have been blended by the pervasive force of Islam. Moreover, these territories, unlike the rest of the northern zone, have been affected by social and economic influences emanating from towns.

For northern Morocco as a whole, subsistence farming is clearly the predominant mode of livelihood. With the exception of hemp, grown in the Sanhajan highlands, there is no large cash crop. At most markets barter is more important than cash transactions, and the essential imports from the urban centers are limited to sugar, salt, tea, and kerosene. Yet the rural economy of northern Morocco should not be described as one of simple subsistence with little or no specialization or exchange. In northern Morocco, as in many other areas of the non-Western world, self-sufficiency at the scale of the canton or tribe reflects the specialized or semispecialized production of individual hamlets and farmsteads.

The basic differences within the agricultural framework depend upon the opportunities for cultivation of crops to supplement the staple cereals. Maximum opportunity is found in the Sanhajan highlands, where perennial streams provide water for irrigation of vegetables and legumes. There are few perennial streams in the western lowlands, but the combination of gentle slopes, fertile soils, and dependable rains minimizes the risks of dry farming and makes possible a surplus yield of grain to be drawn upon during unproductive months. In the Rif, horticulture provides a safeguard against failure of the cereal crops, and when bread is scarce, raisins, nuts, and figs are staple foods. The number of orchards decreases